

## Message Text

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SUBJ: NINTH NATIONAL COUNCIL OF ZAMBIAN UNITED NATIONAL  
INDEPENDENCE PARTY (UNIP) USHERS IN ERA OF COMMUNOCRACY

REF: LUSAKA 2431

1. SUMMARY -- IN FIRST EVER BACK-TO-BACK LEADERSHIP SEMINAR (SEPT. 14-18) AND NINTH NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY (UNIP) (SEPT. 20-24) HELD AT MULUNGUSHI ROCK AND CAMP GROUND, NEAR KABWE, PRESIDENT KAUNDA PARTICIPATED PROMINENTLY AND ACTIVELY IN THE POLITICAL STOCK-TAKING, SET THE TONE FOR THE LEADERSHIP'S CONSIDERATION OF DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONCERNS AND PROVIDED GUIDANCE FOR ZAMBIA'S NEAR TERM POLITICAL COURSE. KAUNDA PRESCRIBED NO GREAT DEVIATIONS FROM THE COURSE OF HUMANISM ON WHICH THE SHIP OF STATE IS ALREADY SAILING. HOWEVER, IN HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS HE DID HAVE SOME GOOD WORDS FOR CERTAIN ATTRIBUTES OF CAPITALISM - INCENTIVES AND HARD WORK - WHICH HE CAUTIONED HIS AUDIENCE NOT TO REGARD AS A MONOPOLY OF CAPITALISM. PRESIDENT COINED NEW POLITICAL CATCHWORD, "COMMUNOCRACY", TO REPRESENT EMBODIMENT OF THE ECONOMIC GOALS OF A CORRECTLY APPLIED HUMANISM. IN CLOSING CEREMONY PRESIDENT CALLED FOR CLEAR DIRECTION TO THE MASSES FROM THE LEADERSHIP AND URGED LEADERS TO GO FORWARD AND DELIVER THE GOODS OF REVOLUTION TO THE PEOPLE. THE COUNCIL'S DELIBERATIONS WERE DISTILLED IN A SERIES OF RESOLUTIONS WHICH "INTER ALIA" CALLED FOR: CONTINUED DECENTRALIZATION OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL POWER; THE PARTY TO INCREASE ITS PARTICIPATION IN ECONOMICALLY VIABLE BUSINESS ENTERPRISES; AND TO LEAVE THE APPOINTMENT OF (INDUSTRIAL)

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MANAGERS AS IT IS; THUS REJECTING GIVING THE WORKERS A VOICE.

THESE EXERCISES MAY HAVE SERVED TO REDUCE LATENT TENSIONS AND UNEASE WITHIN THE PARTY HEIRARCHY AND RENEW THE LEADERSHIP'S ENTHUSIASM, BUT THOSE EFFECTS ARE NOT LIKELY TO LAST LONG.  
END SUMMARY.

2. FOLLOWING FIVE DAY LEADERS' SEMINAR (REFTTEL), PRESIDENT KAUNDA ON SEPTEMBER 20 DELIVERED A THREE HOUR ADDRESS OPENING THE NINTH NATIONAL COUNCIL OF UNIP AT MULUNGUSHI ROCK, NEAR KABWE. KAUNDA'S MESSAGE TO THE ASSEMBLED PARTY FAITHFUL, GOVERNMENT AND MILITARY OFFICIALS AND MEMBERS OF THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS CONCENTRATED ON PARTY MATTERS AND DOMESTIC CONCERNS. ORATION, DELIVERED IN A PASTOR-LIKE TONE, WAS A MIXTURE OF EXHORTATION, ADMONITION AND CHASTISEMENT. UNLIKE OTHER YEARS, THE PRESIDENT FAILED TO DELINEATE ANY GRAND NEW DEPARTUES IN HIS PROGRAM OF HUMANISM APART FROM COINING NEW TERM "COMMUNOCRACY" TO ENCOMPASS THE ECONOMIC GOALS OF CORRECTLY APPLIED HUMANISM. CAPITALISM CAME IN FOR KNOCKS AND GRUDGING ACKNOWLEDGEMENT THAT INCENTIVES AND HARD WORK WERE NOT THE ATTRIBUTES OF CAPITALISM ALONE. KAUNDA URGED SUPPORT FOR THE PROCLAIMED, ACCEPTED, MUCH DISCUSSED, BUT YET TO BE IMPLEMENTED PROGRAM OF WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY. NOT ONLY CORRUPT MANAGERS -- EMBEZZLERS AND ABUSERS OF POWER --, BUT ALSO ERRANT -- DRUKEN AND SLOTHFUL -- WORKERS CAME IN FOR SHARP CRITICISM FROM THE PRESIDENT. PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS DID NOT DISCUSS FOREIGN POLICY EXCEPT IN A BRIEF AD LIBBED COMMENT ON THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA WHEN HE STATED THAT PEACE IN THE AREA MUST BE PURSUED.

3. IN A CLOSING CEREMONY ADDRESS SEPTEMBER 24 PRESIDENT STRESSED NEED FOR CLEAR AND PRECISE ORDERS FROM THE PARTY AS THERE SHOULD BE NO MISUNDERSTANDING AMONG THE MASSES OF WHAT IS REQUIRED. KAUNDA ADVISED LEADERS, "IN GIVING INSTRUCTIONS, LEADERS MUST NOT HIDE THEIR IGNORANCE BEHIND CLOAK OF VERBIAGE OR GENERALIZATIONS. WE MUST HAVE THE COURAGE OF OUR CONVICTIONS AND PROCEED ACCORD-INGLY." TO THOSE WHO HAD CONTRIBUTED TO THE SUCCESS OF THE MEETING THE PRESIDENT PAID TRIBUTE AND CALLED ON THE LEADERS OF THE PARTY TO GO FORTH AND DELIVER THE GOODS OF REVOLUTION TO THE PEOPLE.

4. SUBSEQUENTLY, THE COUNCIL DISTILLED THE WORK OF THE MEETING IN A SET OF RESOLUTIONS WHICH "INTER ALIA" CALLED FOR: (1) CONTINUED DECENTRALIZATION OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POWER TO THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PEOPLE, WHERE IT RIGHTLY BELONGS; (2) CHANGES TO ENABLE THE WORKER TO DEVELOP A STRONG CONSCIOUSNESS ABOUT HIMSELF AND SOCIETY BY WHICH FELLOW WORKERS WOULD BE SEEN, NOT AS COMPETITORS, BUT AS EQUALS WHOSE PRIMARY PURPOSE IS TO INCREASE THE WEALTH IN THE SOCIETY AVAILABLE FOR FAIR DISTRIBUTION; (3) LEAVING THE APPOINTMENT OF (INDUSTRIAL) MANAGERS IN THE HANDS OF A BOARD OF DIRECTORS, OR THE HEAD OF STATE, AS IS THE CASE PRESENTLY (WORKERS SHOULD NOT BE GIVEN THIS AUTHORITY); (4) VIGOROUS

AND POSITIVE DEBATE ON THE MECHANICS OF IMPLEMENTING AND FINDING SUITABLE FORMS OF INDUSTRIAL PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY; AND (5) INCREASED PARTICIPATION AND/OR ENGAGEMENT IN ECONOMICALLY VIABLE BUSINESS VENTURES TO PROVIDE A SOURCE OF INCOME FOR THE PARTY.

5. FULL TEXTS OF THE PRESIDENT'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS AND RESOLUTIONS BEING FORWARDED BY AIRGRAM.

6. COMMENT: TRADITIONALLY, THE NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETINGS HAVE SERVED AS THE OCCASION FOR MAJOR POLICY INITIATIVES. WHILE NO SUCH PRONOUNCEMENTS CAME OUT OF THE MEETING THIS YEAR, IT WAS GIVEN MORE THAN USUAL IMPORTANCE BY THE PRESIDENT AND TOP PARTY AND GOVERNMENT LEADERS. INSTEAD OF THE USUAL ONE WEEK DURATION, A LEADERSHIP SEMINAR PRECEDED THE MEETING MAKING IT AN ELEVEN-DAY AFFAIR. THE SEMINAR AND MEETINGS INVOLVED VIRTUALLY EVERY SIGNIFICANT ZAMBIAN POLITICAL FIGURE, MEMBERS OF THE BUREAUCRACY AND THE DEFENSE FORCES. THE PRESIDENT HIMSELF WAS CONSTANTLY IN ATTENDANCE AT MULUNGUSHI ROCK AND CAMP GROUND, A 35 MINUTE HELICOPTER RIDE OR TWO-HOUR DRIVE FROM LUSAKA, INTERRUPTING HIS PARTICIPATION TWICE FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER'S VISITS TO LUSAKA. THE RATIONALE FOR THE ADDITION OF THE LEADERSHIP SEMINAR WAS TO PERMIT DISCUSSION ON CONTENTIOUS TOPICS AND ALLOW THE PARTISANS OF VARIOUS VIEWS TO AIR THEMSELVES PUBLICLY, ALBEIT IN A CLOSED PARTY FORUM. THIS CATHARTIC EXPERIENCE ALLOWED THE LEADERSHIP TO LET OFF STEAM AND DEFUSE SOME OF THE DISSATISFACTION WHICH HAS ARISEN FROM ECONOMIC DISLOCATIONS RESULTING IN COMMODITY SHORTAGES AND APPREHENSIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN GENERATED BY THE PROPOSED EDUCATIONAL REFORMS. TRIBAL POLITICS, IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MORE CONSERVATIVE/ TRADITIONAL AND RADICAL ELEMENTS, AND THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN LEADERS AND THE RANK AND FILE HAVE ADDED TO TENSIONS WHICH EXIST WITHIN THE PARTY. ITS PERFORMANCE IN THE EYES OF SOME LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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FALLS SHORT OF ITS PROMISES. THE COUNCIL MEETING AND LEADERSHIP SEMINAR MAY HAVE SERVED TO REDUCE THESE TENSIONS SOMEWHAT AND RENEWED PARTY LEADERSHIP ENTHUSIASM, BUT THESE EFFECTS ARE NOT LIKELY TO LAST LONG. PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S PROBLEMS WITHIN THE PARTY ARE APPARENTLY NOT OF A CRITICAL NATURE, BUT THE PRESIDENT RECOGNIZES THERE ARE PROBLEMS AND HAS SOUGHT TO COPE WITH THEM BY BRINGING THE RESPONSIBLE PLAYERS TOGETHER IN A CONFESSIONAL ATMOSPHERE. HE SOUGHT TO EVOLVE A CONSENSUS APPROACH WHICH ALL MEMBERS OF THE LEADERSHIP CAN GET BEHIND WITH GOOD GRACE, IF NOT WITH TOTAL ENTHUSIASM AND DEDICATION. END COMMENT. LOW

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